

Plan B means that cameras and international inspectors that keep a continuous eye on Iran's facilities will be shuttered permanently, leaving us in the dark about Iran's nuclear intentions.

Under Trump, we saw "maximum pressure" generate "maximum tension" that put us on a perilous path to war. Trump's Plan B to diplomacy was and continues to be a complete failure.

Indeed, we saw this in 2019, when tensions rose to a decades-long high with the assassinations of Qasem Soleimani, followed by Iran's retaliatory strike that injured 200 U.S. troops at an Air Force base in Iraq. Never had we been closer to a war with Iran.

If the sides currently negotiating a new Iran deal are unable to get to yes on a deal, I fear that we will see increasing calls from my Republican colleagues to take military action against Iran. That is not a good option.

My Republican colleagues need to be honest with the war-weary American people that doubling down on the failed policies of the Trump era will likely lead Iran to retaliate by lobbing greater numbers of missiles at our troops or at the region's energy infrastructure. Iran will double down on these failed policies, and that may lead to Iran creating a sea wall to stop traffic in the Strait of Hormuz, creating more of a supply chain pain. And my colleagues need to be honest that doubling down on these policies risks adding to the number of Gold Star mothers who have lost children to unnecessary wars far from home. And, perhaps, most importantly, my colleagues should be honest with the American people that these failed policies have led Iran closer to a nuclear weapon—not further away from a nuclear weapon, closer to a nuclear weapon—day by day, week by week that we have followed the Trump plan.

These are life-and-death stakes. Doubling down on the failed policies of Trump and expecting a different result in Iran is truly the definition of insanity.

The Iran nuclear deal is not a panacea nor was it ever intended to be a panacea. What it is, is a verifiable agreement that cuts off each of Iran's three pathways to a nuclear bomb.

First, Iran will, again, have to cap its enrichment level and ship out its stock of enriched uranium that would otherwise be potential feedstock for a nuclear bomb.

Second, Iran will finish the conversion of its Arak reactor, which will close off its plutonium path to a nuclear bomb.

And, third, and most importantly, inspectors from the international watchdog agency, the International Atomic Energy Agency, will once again get access to the soup to nuts of Iran's nuclear fuel cycle.

If we listen to the same voices who rejected a good deal in search of the impossible, who preached brinksmanship over diplomacy, we will

find ourselves stuck, as we are today, with an Iran that could have the ultimate weapon to back its coercion—a nuclear bomb.

Fortunately, this screenplay does not have to end with American men and women marching off to another war in the Middle East, and it does not have to end with Iran entering the worst of exclusive clubs, those with nuclear weapons.

Russian President Vladimir Putin's recent nuclear saber rattling has brought home the stakes of nuclear diplomacy with Iran. A homicidal leader armed with weapons of annihilation is a threat to global peace.

When Putin ordered an increase in the alert level of Russia's nuclear forces a couple of weeks ago, he postponed U.S. intercontinental ballistic missile tests for fear that, in the fog of war, Russia could misinterpret an ICBM launch off the coast of California as a first nuclear strike against Russia. That also explains President Biden's reticence to impose a NATO-enforced no-fly zone over Ukraine.

Putin is failing. Ukraine and its people are winning, with our help. Every fabricated justification for Putin's senseless and illegal war has crumbled. But a direct U.S.-NATO military intervention would pull the world's two largest nuclear powers closer to a war. No simulation, no exercise, no war game can assure us that such a war does not metastasize to engulf all of Europe and lead to the use of nuclear weapons.

Mr. President, here is the scary reality: Vladimir Putin could kill millions upon millions of Americans right now using a fraction of his 4,500 nuclear weapons. That is the perennial threat of nuclear arms.

Conventional logic says that we are safe because a Russian nuclear strike would be both homicidal and suicidal for Putin, but we cannot bank on the fact that Putin, the pariah, has a moral basement. President George W. Bush famously said he looked into Vladimir Putin's eyes and he saw his soul. Thank goodness President Biden sees it for the dark space that it is.

As a result, Russia's war in Ukraine calls on us to challenge tired, old Cold War assumptions that basing our nuclear posture on the balance of terror and relying on the rationality of our leaders will keep the peace—no, it will not. That assumption has to be completely reanalyzed in view of what Putin is doing right now, that pursuing President Reagan's star wars fantasy to knock out nuclear-tipped missiles in space before they fall on American cities is wise; it is not. There is no guarantee that some of those nuclear weapons would not come and destroy American cities and that we should spend a quarter of a trillion dollars to replace the very same U.S. intercontinental ballistic missiles that the President won't even test during a conflict due to fears of escalation; we should not.

Unfortunately, our American democracy and Russia's autocracy do share

one major thing in common: Both our systems give the United States and Russian Presidents the God-like powers known as sole authority to end life on the planet as we know it by ordering a nuclear first strike.

As President Richard Nixon grimly described these powers once:

I can go into my office and pick up the telephone and in 25 minutes, 70 million people will be dead.

We know all too well that American Presidents are not infallible, neither is our early warning system, which is why we need an emergency break to ensure that a case of mistaken identity—a false missile launch—or a President gone wild does not trigger the unthinkable.

We cannot uninvent the atom, its military applications, and technological know-how. The nuclear Pandora's box is sadly forever opened. We must, however, do everything in our power to be able to look the next generation in the eye and say that we did everything—everything—in our power to avert the unfathomable, a nuclear war on this planet; and that includes supporting negotiations that not only end Russia's war in Ukraine, but also future negotiations to end the budding 21st century nuclear arms race which is spinning out of control.

Mr. President, I was a teenager during the Cuban Missile Crisis. Had President Kennedy listened to his generals rather than to his better angels, we might not be here today. This building might not be here. "Bert the Turtle" public service advertisements told us to duck and cover under our school desks. Backpack nukes designed to repel the Soviet advance on West Germany rolled off the assembly lines. U.S. and Soviet leaders were awoken in the middle of the night to false alarms of nuclear Armageddon. These events must forever belong to our past, not to our future.

A future held together by the fear of annihilation is a burden, not an inspiration. But Congress can shape a safer more inspiring future by supporting President Biden's efforts to reenter a good Iran nuclear deal, and we can and we must hold ourselves to a higher standard than Russia when it comes to resting the fate of humanity in the hands of just one human being.

This is a subject that should command the attention of every single American. We have to move further away from the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, not get closer to it; and that is why we must support a reentry into a good Iran nuclear deal. The alternative is frightening for the future, not just of the Middle East, but for our country and the entire planet.

MORNING BUSINESS

INCREASING MEMBERSHIP TO THE SENATE NATO OBSERVER GROUP

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, due to the current events happening in Europe, the minority leader and I have

agreed to increase the membership of the Senate NATO Observer Group by two additional Senators. For the additional Democratic Senator, I ask that Senator ROSEN be added to participate in the Group.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

TRIBUTE TO BRIAN W. NESS

• Mr. CRAPO. Mr. President, along with my colleagues Senator JIM RISCH, Representative MIKE SIMPSON and Representative RUSS FULCHER, we congratulate Brian Ness on his retirement after 13 years of outstanding service as director of the Idaho Transportation Department, ITD.

In 2009, Brian Ness was appointed to serve as director of the Idaho Transportation Department, and he has been responsible for an annual budget of approximately \$800 million and leading 1,650 employees. We have greatly valued his input on advancing Idaho transportation priorities, including through the Federal appropriations process and other infrastructure-related proposals. He also testified before the U.S. House of Representatives Subcommittee on Research and Technology in 2019 on "The Need for a National Surface Transportation Research Agenda."

Director Ness has devoted considerable time utilizing his experience as a transportation professional to help lead a number of related organizations. He has served on the boards of directors and in many other leadership roles for the American Association of State Highway and Transportation Officials, AASHTO; the Western Association of State Highway and Transportation Officials, WASHTO; the Transportation Research Board, TRB; the American Road and Transportation Builders Association, ARTBA; and the Idaho Rural Partnership. His leadership roles include the Governor appointing Director Ness to chair the Idaho Autonomous and Connected Vehicle Testing and Deployment Committee. Additionally, in 2019, Director Ness became president of the ARTBA's Transportation Officials Division. He also served as president of WASHTO in 2015.

Throughout his career, he has earned many recognitions for his remarkable work and led teams that have received many honors. For example, since Director Ness joined the ITD, it has received nearly 170 national awards for its programs and projects, including the prestigious Francis B. Francois Award for Innovation. ITD has also won an extraordinary 17 AASHTO President's Transportation Awards. Director Ness also received the 2016 Navigator Award from the national organization, Route Fifty; was named Trine University's—formerly Tri-State University—2014 Alumni of the Year; AASHTO's President's Award for Administration in 2013; and was honored in 2012 as Leader of the Year by the

Treasure Valley Chapter of Women's Transportation Seminar.

Before becoming director at ITD, Director Ness worked for 30 years at the Michigan Department of Transportation, holding a variety of positions in research, operations, aeronautics, construction, and project development. He earned a bachelor of science degree in civil engineering from Tri-State University and a master's degree in public administration from Western Michigan University, and he is a licensed professional engineer in Michigan and Idaho.

We understand the ITD's employee-driven innovation program started during Director Ness's leadership is credited with saving nearly \$35 million, creating 691 customer-service improvements, and saving 540,000 contractor and employee hours. Thank you, Brian, for your focus on ingenuity, efficiency, accountability, and results all these years at the helm of the ITD. Your work to empower employee-driven innovation and support emerging leaders will no doubt have lasting effects on government efficiency and countless individual careers. Thank you, especially, for your service to Idaho, the transportation department and its employees, and congratulations on your retirement.●

RECOGNIZING KELSEY'S ON MAIN

• Mr. PAUL. Mr. President, as ranking member of the Senate Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship, each week I recognize an outstanding Kentucky small business that exemplifies the American entrepreneurial spirit. This week, it is my privilege to recognize the small business, Kelsey's On Main of Jackson, KY, as the Senate Small Business of the Week.

Like a good Southerner, Kelsey Sebastian is passionate about hospitality. After leaving her native Jackson, she pursued a degree in hospitality management and tourism from University of Kentucky. However, instead of taking her university expertise to the opportunities of the big city, Kelsey returned home to put her knowledge and skills to work. Thus in 2014, with the help of her family, Kelsey Sebastian opened Kelsey's On Main.

The idea for Kelsey's On Main was born out of several needs for the little town of Jackson. With only a small number of sit-in dining establishments in Jackson, local residents needed more restaurant options. Moreover, there was a need for revitalization in the heart of downtown Jackson, a heady mission that Kelsey and her family bravely took on. The Hogg building, now home to Kelsey's On Main, was 98 years old when she and her family began the renovation process in 2012. A former pharmacy and pool hall, this historic building located in the center of downtown needed a healthy dose of tender love and care. Renovating the establishment was by no means an easy task but the town of Jackson and its residents will tell you

that it was worth it. In 2014, the centennial anniversary of the Hogg building, Kelsey's On Main opened their doors.

Kelsey's desire to restore beauty to the dilapidated old Hogg building corresponded with her mission to provide great food and top quality service to her hometown. In keeping the original tin roof and leaving one of the old walls exposed in its brick, customers can see that this building is mature in age but well taken care of. To that end, Kelsey and her family keep old photos of downtown Jackson as well as photos of her friends and family throughout the historic building. Of course, her family is not just present in the photographs that hang on the wall; her parents often come by to pick up a shift or two to support their daughter. And as a tenant in her aunt's building, Kelsey's On Main is a true family affair.

Returning to Jackson to open her own business is not the only way Kelsey supports her community. She is an active member of the Jackson Women's Group and as a Jackson City Council member, Kelsey always volunteers her restaurant to host the monthly Jackson Chamber of Commerce lunch. Kelsey is also involved in the Breathitt County Honey Festival, a tradition that has been around for over four decades, by supporting the festival's musical committee. As someone so involved in the goings-on of her town, Kelsey does her best to bring life to the Jackson community, as illustrated by she and her family's decision to revitalize a historic downtown building. Moreover, as a recent participant in Kentucky's BRIGHT program, a professional and entrepreneurial development program, it is clear that Kelsey is headstrong in her desire to keep improving and impacting the community around her.

All across the country are little towns like Jackson whose downtowns have been left empty by a shift in industry, and it is businesses like Kelsey's On Main that bring life back into those empty storefronts and keep historic communities thriving.

Congratulations to Kelsey and her family and the entire team at Kelsey's On Main. I wish them the best of luck and look forward to watching their continued growth and success in Kentucky.●

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

At 11:11 a.m., a message from the House of Representatives delivered by Mrs. Alli, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bills, without amendment:

S. 233. An act to designate the Rocksprings Station of the U.S. Border Patrol located on West Main Street in Rocksprings, Texas, as the "Donna M. Doss Border Patrol Station".

S. 1226. An act to designate the United States courthouse located at 1501 North 6th Street in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, as the "Sylvia H. Rambo United States Courthouse", and for other purposes.

S. 2126. An act to designate the Federal Office Building located at 308 W. 21st Street in